Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 070280

60
ORIGIN PA-04

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 RSC-01 SS-20 SSO-00 ISO-00 PRS-01 /027 R

DRAFTED BY PA/HO;CSAMPSON
APPROVED BY PA:CPRENTICE
S/S-O: R. ELTZ
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
S/S, PA
---------- 127741
O 072329Z APR 74 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL ACAPULCO IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 070280

TOSEC 171

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS; OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJECT: MURREY MARDER, ARTICLE IN WASHINGTON POST,
SUNDAY APRIL 7.

1. THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY MARDER, ENTITLED "KISSINGER
RACES CLOCK IN QUEST FOR LASTING IMPACT," APPEARED IN
SUNDAY'S WASHINGTON POST:

2. IN SIX MONTHS AS SECRETARY OF STATE, HENRY KISSINGER,
HAS BEEN RUNNING A FRENETIC RACE AGAINST A DOMESTIC CLOCK.
THAT CAN STRIKE AT THE POWER, AND INDEED THE LIFE
OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

3. NO MAN BELOW THE RANK OF PRESIDENT EVER HELD SO
MUCH INFLUENCE OVER AMERICAN GLOBAL POWER AS KISSINGER
NOW POSSESSES. THE HALDEMANS AND THE EHRLICHMANS ARE
GONE; TREASURY SECRETARY GEORGE P. SCHULTZ IS DEPARTING.
DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES R. SCHLESINGER, ALTHOUGH AN
INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGER IN HIS OWN RIGHT, IS USUALLY
MORE OF AN ASSOCIATE OF KISSINGER THAN AN ADVERSARY, AND
SCHLESINGER'S INTERNATIONAL SCOPE IS ADMITTEDLY SMALLER.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 070280

4. AS THE WORLD SEES HIM KISSINGER IS VIRTUALLY ACTING
PRESIDENT FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THIS IS AN EXA;GERATED
PERCEPTION. BUT IN TERMS OF THE POWER HE COMMANDS, THERE
IS MORE TRUTH THAN FALSEHOOD IN THE CHARACTERIZATION.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

5. UNBELIEVABLE AS IT MAY SEEM TO KISSINGER'S CRITICS, THE MAN WHO JOCULARLY CONCEEDS HIS OWN "MEGALOMANIA" PRIVATELY SAYS HE IS TROUBLED NOW BY THE PRESIDENTIAL WEAKNESS. AS MUCH AS HE RELISHES ADULATION, WHAT PRE-OCCUPIES KISSINGER IS USABLE, NOT ILLUSORY, POWER, AND THE ONLY TANGIBLE POWER HE COMMANDS FLOWS FROM THE PRESI-DENT

6. THERE HAVE BEEN VERY POWERFUL SECRETARIES OF STATE BEFORE HIM; DEAN ACHESON FOR TRUMAN, JOHN FOSTER DULLES FOR EISENHOWER. SOMETIMES THEY TOO ECLIPSED THEIR MASTERS, BUT NONE SERVED A PRESIDENT SIMULTANEOUSLY CRIPPLED BY A CRUMBLING DOMESTIC BASE AND A THREAT OF IMPEACHMENT.

7. EXCEPTIONAL AUTHORITY HAS PILED UP IN KISSINGER'S HANDS THROUGH A SERIES OF EXTRAORDINARY COINCIDENCES. KISSINGER MOVED TO STATE REPLACING WILLIAM P. ROGERS, LEAVING NO FOREIGN POLICY RIVAL AT THE WHITE HOUSE; KISSINGER'S HAT REMAINED THERE, TOO. WATERGATE REMOVED ALMOST ALL THE KISSINGER SECOND-GUESSERS AND OUTRIGHT ANTAGONISTS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S INNER CIRCLE, WHERE THEY HAD WARILY GUARDED PRESIDENTIAL POWER AND PREROGA-TIVES. OTHER POWER CENTERS WERE VACATED; LESS-DOMINANT PERSONALITIES MOVED IN.

8. AND, WHILE KISSINGER IS NOT A FREE AGENT IN THE LITERAL SENSE, HIS CLOUT IN THE BUREAUCRACY IS MASSIVE. IT IS AN ILLUSION THAT PRESIDENT NIXON EVER DID GRAPPLE WITH THE DETAILS OF MOST FOREIGN-POLICY ISSUES, MANY SOURCES REPORT. "PERHAPS THE WHOLE SECRET OF KISSINGER'S SUCCESS WITH THE PRESIDENT," SAID ONE ASSOCIATE, IS HIS ABILITY TO ANTICIPATE "WHERE THE PRESIDENT WILL COME DOWN ON AN ISSUE." THE PRESIDENT, IT IS SAID, WILL FREQUENTLY TELL KISSINGER, "WE HAVE TO GET THIS DONE;
UNCLASSIFIED

WORK IT OU , YOU HAVE MY SUPPORT."

9. "ON A LOT OF THINGS," ONE SOURCE SAID, "HE (NOW) CAN MAKE A DECISION WITHOUT GOING TO THE PRESIDENT. FOR REMEMBER, THIS IS THE SECOND TERM OF AN ADMINISTRATION, AND THE BASIC POLICY IS SET."

10. "THIS HAS BEEN INVALUABLE IN WORKING WITH THE RUSSIANS," SAID ANOTHER ASSOCIATE. "HENRY IS ABLE TO REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT WITHOUT CONSTANTLY SEEKING IN-STRUCTIONS AND HOLDING MEETINGS." WHEN KISSINGER GOES TO

THE PRESIDENT, SAID ANOTHER SOUCE, "HE GOES WITH CON-FIDENCE THAT HE WILL BE SUPPORTED, AND HE IS."

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

11. BUT NOT ALWAYS. SOMETIMES EVEN KISSINGER LOSES, OR IS OBLIGED TO GIVE WAY TO A COMBINATION OF FORCES. THE MOST POTENT COMBINATION IS THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, JOINED BY THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, IF THEY CAN MORE STRONGLY APPEAL TO A PRESIDENTIAL INCLINATION.

12. WITHIN TWO WEEKS OF THE DAY KISSINGER WAS SWORN IN AS SECRETARY OF STATE, THE ARAB-ISRAELI OCTOBER WAR CRASHED OVER THE AMERICAN-SOVIET DETENTE POLICY THAT HE HAD DONE SO MUCH TO CREATE,OVER HIS AMBITION TO "IN-STITUTIONALIZE" THE CONCEPT AND STYLE OF FOREIGN POLICY IDENTIFIED WITH HIM, AND OVER THE ENTIRE PACE OF ACTIVITY HE ENVISIONED IN HIS TWO-HAT ROLE AS BOTH SECRETARY OF STATE AND PRESIDENTIAL NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.

13. SIX MONTHS LATER, WITH MORE THAN 120,000 INTERVENING MILES OF AIR TRAVEL, AND HECTIC VISITS TO 25 COUNTRIES- IS STILL PICKING UP THE PIECES AND THE THREAD OF HIS ORIGINAL OBJECTIVES.

14. IN BETWEEN, THE SHADOW OF WATERGATE AND THE THE THREAT OF IMPEACHMENT HAS EXPANDED FROM A POSSIBLEHAZARD FOR THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY TO AN ENGUL-FING CHALLENGE WITHOUT PRECEDENT IN THE NATION'S LIFE. OFFICIALLY, ALL GOES ON AS BEFORE, IN REALITY, ALMOST NOTHING IS THE SAME.
UNCLASSIFIED

15. NOW THE COURSE OF EAST-WEST DETENTE, THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND OTHER OBJECTIVES OF U.S. POLICY HAVE PERSONAL, AS WELL AS NATIONAL, SIGNIFICANCE FOR A PRESIDENT UNDER SIEGE.

16. THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN-POLICY RECORD IS ITSELF THE ULTIMATE FALLBACK DEFENSE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF PRESIDENT NIXON. AND THAT TOO HAS NOW BECOME A DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUE, AS EVIDENCED BY THE ERUPTION IN CONGRESS LAST WEEK OF EXTRAORDINARY DEMANDS TO PUT TIGHT STRINGS ON THE PRESIDENT'S NEGOTIATING POWER DURING THE IMPEACHMENT-CONSIDERATION PROCESS, TO PREVENT HIM FROM SUCCUMBING TO ANY SOVIET STRONG-ARM NEGOTIATING

DEMANDS.

17. THIS PATTERN INEVITABLY INTENSIFIES THE PRESSURE ON KISSINGER.
18. "IT'S GOING TO BE A BITCH OF TIME" OPERATING THROUGH THE IMPEACHMENT SEQUENCE IN CONGRESS, SAID ONE HIGH-RANKING FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGIST. "IT IS GOING TO BE DAMN TOUGH TO HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY IF IT COMES TO AN INDICTMENT"- AN IMPEACHMENT VOTE BY THE HOUSE OF REPRE-

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

SENTATIVES.

19. THERE IS A WIDESPREAD IMPRESSION IN OFFICIAL WASH-
INGTON THAT IF PRESIDENT NIXON SHOULD RESIGN OR BE IM-
PEACHED, VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD, WHO SUCCEEDS HIM,
WOULD BE CERTAIN TO KEEP KISSINGER AS HIS FOREIGN-POLICY
ARCHITECT, AND THEREFORE THERE WOULD BE NO PARTICULAR
OBSTACLE ABOUT MAINTAINING THE CONTINUITY OF AMERICAN
FOREIGN POLICY.

20. BUT MANY EXPERTS (POSSIBLY INCLUDING KISSINGER
HIMSELF) SEE THIS AS TOO SIMPLISTIC AN ASSUMPTION. A
CHANGE OF PRESIDENTS IS A FUNDAMENTAL SHIFT, ALTERING
INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FEDERAL POWER STRUCTURE
AND ALMOST INVARIABLY PRODUCING AT LEAST AN INTERLUDE
OF RECONSIDERATION IN THE POLICY PROCESS, AS WELL AS
A RECALCULATION BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 070280

21. THERE IS NO IMMUTABLE PLAN THAT PROJECTS U.S. POLICY
ON THE MOST COMPLEX SUBJECTS, WHICH ARE HIGHLY SUSCEP-
TIBLE TO INTERACTION AMONG NATIONS.

23.FOR ALL ITS INTERNATIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS, THE NIXON
ADMINISTRATION SO FAR HAS PENETRATED ONLY THE OUTER
LAYERS OF MANY OF THE TOUGHEST INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

24. WITH ALL OF KISSINGER'S FURIOUSLY PACED SHUTTLE
DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ONLY A START HAS BEEN MADE
ON ARAB-ISRAELI MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AS A PRE-
LUDE TO ENORMOUSLY COMPLEX PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. "EACH
SUCCESS," KISSINGER HAS SAID, "ONLY BUYS AN ADMISSION
TICKET TO A MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEM."

25. THE RECENT OPEN CLASH BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES OVER ALLIED CONSULTATION EXPOSED
THE DEPTH OF THE BREACH TO BE REPAIRED IN WESTERN POLICY
COORDINATION. THE OIL CRISIS REVEALED MONUMENTAL DANGERS
FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY IN AN UNCONTROLLED SCRAMBLE
FOR ENERGY, AND THE PROFOUND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF

TRIPLED OR QUADRUPLED OIL PRICES EVEN IF THERE IS INTER-
NATIONAL COOPERATION.

26. THERE IS NO BUILT-IN UNIFORMITY OR POSITION EVEN
IN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION ON THE MOST CRITICUAL WORLD
ISSUES.

27. FOR EXAMPLE, INSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION THERE WAS
NOT UNIVERSAL DISMAY THAT THE KISSINGER MISSION TO MOSCOW
LAST MONTH FAILED TO ACHIEVE THE DESIRED "CONCEPTUAL
BREAKTHROUGH" FOR LIMITING MULTIPLE NUCLEAR WARHEADS

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

FOR SALT II.

28. AS ONE AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE AT THE PENTAGON PUT IT, THERE WAS EVEN "A LITTLE MOOD OF RELIEF" AT TOP LEVELS OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, EXPECIALLY AMONG THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 070280

29. BEFORE KISSINGER LEFT FOR MOSCOW, THESE SOURCES SAID, PENTAGON STRATEGISTS WERE DETERMINED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE AND HOLD A "TOUGH ENOUGH" POSITION TO ASSURE A DECIDEDLY MORE FAVORABLE OUTCOME FOR THE UNITED STATES IN SALT II THAN THE SALT I RESULTS IN 1972, WHICH MADE THE JOINT CHIEFS UNEASY.

30. ACCORDING TO THESE SOURCES, PRESIDENT NIXON FAVORED THE MORE DEMANDING PENTAGON POSITION OVER THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S PREFERENCES, AND THIS WAS THE APPROACH THAT KISSINGER CARRIED TO MOSCOW. HE ENCOUNTERED AN EQUALLY FIRM SOVIET COUNTER-PROPOSAL ON THE METHOD OF CONTROL-LING MUTIPLE NUCLEAR WARHEADS.

31. "YOU COULD BE SORRY, OF COURSE, THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE SO OBSTINATE," SAID ONE PENTAGON SOURCE, "BUT IT WON'T BE DISASTROUS FOR US IF WE HAVE TO WAIT ANOTHER YEAR" FOR AN INITIAL SALT II ACCORD.

32. WITH THE IMPEACHMENT THREAT HANGING OVER PRESIDENT NICON, ONE PENTAGON SOURCE SAID "ALL OF THE (OFFICIAL WASHINGTON) PRESSURES, IT SEEMS TO ME, ARE GOING TO BE, DON'T BE PUSHED INTO ANYTHING, BE PRUDENT, BE CAUTIOUS, THAT SEEMS TO BE THE SAME MOOD ON THE HILL TOO."

33. FOR KISSINGER THIS PRESENTS A MULTIPLE DILEMMA. HE ALREADY FACES, IN CONGRESS, POWERFUL DEMANDS TO EXTRACT A FREER EMIGRATION POLICY FROM THE SOVIET UNION AS THE PRICE OF TARIFF AND TRADE BENEFITS FOR PROMISED EXPANSION OF U.S.-SOVIET TRADE. WITH ALL HIS ENHANCED AUTHORITY, HE

IS OBILGED TO BARGAIN, SIMULTANEOUSLY, WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WITH THE ARAB-ISRAELI COMPLEX, WITH EUROPEAN AND OHER ALLIES, WITH THE CONGRESS, AND WITH THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY.

34. "NO MAN, NOT EVEN HENRY KISSINGER, CAN SUSTAIN THE PACE FOR THREE MORE YEARS," A CORE MEMBER OF THE KISSINGER APPARATUS SAID, TROUBLED, LAST WEEK.

35. KISSINGER HAS ACHIEVED A REMARKABLE HONEYMOON
UNCLASSIFIED

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS, WITH THE EXPENDITURE OF GREAT TIME, EFFORT AND BLANDISHMENTS. EVEN SO, HE HAS NOT TAKEN INTO CAMP AND BENT TO HIS WILL SUCH A PRIME CHALLENGER ON SALT AND SOVIET TRADE-EMIGRATION TERMS AS SEN HENRY M. JACKSON (D.WASH.)

36. THE "CO-OPTING OF CONGRESS" BY KISSINGER IS DE-SCRIBED IN THIS MANNER BY ONE INSIDER: " IN MANY WAYS, THIS IS THE SAME PHENOMENON HENRY ACCOMPLISHED WITH THE PRESS. HE IS HIGHLY ARTICULATE, HE CONVEYS A SENSE OF THEY HAVE VERY LITTLE TIME FOR QUESTIONS."

37. KISSINGER HAS OVERWHELMED THE CONGRESS, INDIVID-UALLY AND IN GROUPS, WITH PRIVATE BREAKFASTS; LEADER-SHIP BREAKFASTS, LUNCHES, INVITATIONS TO ACCOMPANY HIM HE HAS HAD ONLY ONE PUBLIC HEARING IN THE ENTIRE SIX MONTHS.

38. SIGNIFICANTLY, HE HAS NOT BEEN PRESSED FOR PUBLIC TESTIMONY AND TOUGH PUBLIC QUESTIONING. MOST CONGRESS-MEN EXULT, INSTEAD, OVER THEIR "INSIDE" OFF-THE-RECORD ACCESS, WHILE KISSINGER EMPLOYS PRESS CONFERENCES, AIR-BORNE BACKGROUND TALKS WITH NEWSMEN, PLUS PRIVATE INDI-VIDUAL MEETINGS WITH COLUMNISTS AND EDITORS, FOR HIS UNPRECEDENTEDLY EXTENSIVE PUBLIC-RELATIONS OPERATIONS. THIS MIX GIVES KISSINGER ENORMOUS NFLUENCE OVER WHAT IS REPORTED OR BROADCAST ABOUT HIM.

39. HE HAS A MAJOR ADVANTAGE OVER HIS IMMEDIATE PREDE-CESSORS, DEAN RUSK AND WILLIAM P. ROGERS- RUSK HAD FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES WITH CONGRESS OVER VIETNAM POLICY ; HE WAS CAUGHT IN AN ALMOST CONSTANT ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP. ROGERS' APPEARANCES BEFORE CONGRESS WERE MUCH EASIER; BUT ROGERS COULD NEVER CONVINCE CONGRESS THAT HE, NOT KISSINGER, WAS IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN POLICY.

40. KISSINGER HAS NO SUCH PROBLEM. AND YET, HE HAS FALLEN CONSIDERABLY SHORT OF HIS PLEDGE TO INITIATE, WITH HIS SECRETARYSHIP, "AN OPEN ARTICULATION OF OUR PHILOSOPHY, OUR PURPOSES AND OUR ACTIONS" IN ORDER TO RESTORE THE AMERICAN CONSENSUS ON FOREIGN POLICY
UNCLASSIFIED

SHATTERED BY THE INDOCHINA WAR.

41. SOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES READILY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT. THEY ALSO EQUALLY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE KISSINGER PLEDGE "TO INFUSE THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WITH A SENSE OF PAR-TICIPATION, INTELLECTUAL EXCITEMENT AND MISSION" REMAINS LARGELY ILLUSORY.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

42. THE ABNORMAL DEMANDS ON HIS TIME AND ENERGY IMPOSED BY THE UNEXPECTED BLOW OF THE MIDDLE EAST WAR, WITH ITS DIPLOMATIC REQUIREMENTS FOR SECRECY, HAVE LARGELY THWARTED THESE PUBLIC AND INSTITUTIONAL OBJECTIVES, MANY KISSINGER SUBORDINATES MAINTAIN.

43. AS THE REVELATIONS LUMPED UNDER THE TERM WATERGATE SHOW, THERE WAS VIRTUALLY A CONSPIRATORIAL ATTITUDE INSIDE THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION FROM THE OUTSET, WITH THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ORGINAL INNER GROUP LOOKING ON MUCH OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD AS ENEMIES--INCLUDING THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY, INHERITED FROM DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS.

45. KISSINGER ARRIVED AT THE WHITE HOUSE WITH HIS OWN LONG-STANDING ANTIPATHY TOWARD BUREAUCRACIES, BUT FOR DIFFERENT REASONS. BUREAUCRACIES, TO HIM, WERE GROSSLY OVERSTAFFED, SLOWWITTED, INITIATIVE-STIFLING, PRESS-LEAKING, FOOT-DRAGGING, RESPONSIBILITY-SHIRKING INSTITUTIONS. THEY NEEDED TO BE CIRCUMVENTED UNTIL THEY COULD BE SLASHED TO THE BONE, DRASTICLLY REORIENTED AND MADE RESPONSIVE TO THE WILL OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

46. "THE ONLY WAY SECRECY CAN BE KEPT," KISSINGER WROTE IN1968; "IS TO EXCLUDE FROM THE MAKING OF THE DECISION ALL THOSE WHO ARE THEORETICALLY CHARGED WITH CARRYING IT OUT."

47. TO THE BRITTLE, SUSPICIOUS "BERLIN WALL" TYPES AROUND THE PRESIDENT, HOWEVER, KISSINGER, THE GERMAN-JEWISH PROFESSOR FROM HARVARD, WAS HIMSELF AN INTRUDER, AND A SUBJECT OF DISTRUST.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 070280

48. THE FULL STORY OF THE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE KISSINGER APPARAT AT THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE HALDEMAN-EHRLICHMAN APPARAT HAS YET TO BE REVEALED. THE IMPENDING WATERGATE TRIALS, AND A LAWSUIT FILED BY A FORMER KISSINGER AIDE, MORTON HALPERIN, OVER THE WIRETAPPING OF HALPERIN'S TELEPHONE DURING AND AFTER THE TIME HE WORKED ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL STAFF, RAISE SOME HAZARDS FOR KISSINGER'S DETERMINED ATTEMPT TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF COMPLETELY FROM THE WATERGATE SCANDALS.

49. "I'M TOLD THAT HE (KISSINGER) IS CLEAN--THAT THEY CAN'T LAY A GLOVE ON HIM," A KISSINGER INSIDER HOPEFULLY SAID LAST WEEK. THE OUSTED PRESIDENTIAL ADVISERS HOWEVER, ARE AT LEAST LIKELY TO TRY TO PUT THE ONUS ON KISSINGER FOR STIMULATING MUCH OF THE NEAR-PARANOID OBSESSION WITH SECRECY AT THE WHITE HOUSE, ON GROUNDS THAT HE DE-

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

MANDED IT TO COVER HIS SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION AND NORTH VIETNAM.

50. THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF FORMER KISSINGER SUBORDINATES WITH CAUSTIC MEMORIES OF OPERATING UNDER THE WHIPLASH OF HIS WORK HABITS AND MASSIVE EGO. THE MOST BITTER OF THEM DESCRIBED KISSINGER AS AN ARCH-MANIPULATOR OF PEOPLE, A DISSEMBLER, A LIAR ON PETTY ISSUES, A TYRANT WHO SUCCUMBS TO PETULANCE, BITTER SCORN, SHOUTING OUTBURSTS.

51. "NO QUESTION ABOUT IT," SAYS A HIDEHARDENED LOYALIST WHO SURVIVED; "HE IS AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT MAN TO WORK FOR. HE DEMANDS EXCELLENCE. BUT THIS IS WHERE THE ACTION IS.

52. THE ACTION IS NOW DIVIDED INTO TWO CENTERS; THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE WHITE HOUSE. KISSINGER SPENDS MORNINGS AT THE WHITE HOUSE WITH HIS NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL HAT, THEN LEAVES HIS DEPUTY FOR THE NSC STAFF, BRIG. GEN. BRENT SCOWCROFT, PHYSICALLY IN COMMAND. KISSINGER GOES TO STATE TO PUT ON HIS SECRETARY HAT.

53. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT KISSINGER SURRENDERS CONTROL OF ANYTHING. AT STATE, EITHER HE OR HIS EXTREMELY UNCLASSIFIED

ABLE CHIEF EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT, LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER, ARE IN CONTINUAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE NSC OPERATION.

54. WITH HIS NSC HAT, KISSINGER RETAINS INTERDEPARTMENTAL COORDINATING AUTHORITY ACROSS THE WEB OF

COMMITTEES HE CREATED, WITH PRESIDENT NIXON'S FULL BLESSING. KISSINGER, OF COURSE, CHAIRS ALMOST ALL THE COMMITTEES.

55. HE BROUGHT HIS KEY NSC AIDES TO STATE WITH HIM, INCLUDING EAGLEBURGER; HELMUT SONNENFELDT, KISSINGER'S ALTER EGO; WILLIAM G. HYLAND, WINSTON LORD, AND OTHER TOP AIDES, AND THE ACTION CENTER HAS SHIFTED TO STATE, BUT THE NSC HAS NOT WITHERED ON THE VINE.

56. ONE NSC OFFICIAL HAS A SPECIAL FUNCTION; YOUNG PETER W. RODMAN, A KISSINGER FAVORITE IS KEEPER OF THE SECRETIVE RECORD ON ALL MAJOR KISSING R TRIPS ABROAD.

57. ON AUG. 1, 1973, THERE WERE 140 PELE ON THE NSC STAFF, 52 OF THEM CLASSED AS SUBSTANTIVE OFFICIALS. ON APRIL 1, 1974, THERE WERE STILL 114 NSC EMPLOYEES, 41 COUNTED AS OFFICIALS, WITH THREE MORE ABOUT TO BE ADDED TO FILL VACANCIES.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

58. INSIDERS ARE EXTREMELY WARY ABOUT DISCUSSING HOW MUCH TIME KISSINGER SPENDS WITH THE WATERGATE-IMPEACHMENT HARASSED PRESIDENT THESE DAYS. AFTER LONG HESITATION, ONE AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE GUARDEDLY SAID, "MAYBE SOMEWHAT LESS TIME FACE-TO-FACE, BUT MUCH MORE ON THE OTHERS DOUBT THAT.

59. INEVITABLY, THERE HAS BEEN "SOME RESENTMENT" INSIDE THE BUREAUCRACY OVER KISSINGER'S DOUBLED "TWO-HAT" POWER, A KISSINGER'S DOUBLED "TWO-HAT" POWER, A SENIOR AIDE CONCEDES. BUT "IT IS SMOOTHER NOW," HE INSISTS, SINCE KISSINGER SORTED OUT THE ROLES MORE. AT LEAST ONE HIGH DEFENSE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL AGREES, PERHAPS IN PART BECAUSE, AS ONE STATE SOURCE ADDED, "I THINK HE (KISSINGER) JUST HAS BEEN TOO STRONG (?OR ANY ONE ELSE) UNCLASSIFIED

TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT" IN ANY EVENT.

60. NOW THAT KISSINGER IS OPERATING AS THE INSTITUTIONAL HEAD OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AT LEAST HIS SELECTZD

TOP OFFICIALS SHARE IN SOME OF THE SECRETS. THE "OLD INSIDERS" ARE AMAZED THAT THE SECRETIVE KISSINGER HAS WIDENED HIS PRIVILEGED CIRCLE AS MUCH AS HE HAS AT STATE; THE OUTSIDERS TAKE JUST THE OPPOSITE VIEW.

61. "YOU ARE RID OF THAT CRAZY BUSINESS," SAID ONE KNOWLEDGEABLE INSIDER, "WHERE ROGERS DIDN'T KNOW, LAIRD (FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY MELVIN R. LAIRD) DIDN'T KNOW" WHAT KISSINGER WAS DOING; "IT WAS A CRAZY SCHEME." NOW, HE SAID, THE SYSTEM IS "MUCH BETTER, AND STRONGER."

62. THIS IN NO WAY MEANS THAT KISSINGER IS NOW "MR. OPEN" ON THE CONTRARY, THE ESSENCE OF HIS OPERATING STYLE IS BASICALLY UNCHANGED TIGHTLY KNIT GROUPS OF LOYALISTS, SOMETIMES DELIBERATELY PUT IN COMPETITION WITH EACH OTHER IN RIVALRY FOR THE BOSS'S APPROVAL, AS HE SWEATS THEM THROUGH REDRAFTING, REWRITING TO PRODUCE, IN THE MAGICAL KISSINGER TERM, THE PROPER "CONCEPTUAL APPROACH" TO A PROBLEM.

63. "HIS MANAGERIAL IMAGINATION DOES NOT RUN BELOW THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL," SAID ONE EXPERIENCED "COUNTRY DIRECTOR" OFFICIAL AT STATE. BUT THIS IS THE WAY KISSINGER WANTS IT, WITH THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIES HOLDING RESPONSIBILITY FOR RUNNING THEIR REGIONAL BUREAUS WHILE THE PERIPATETIC KISSINGER JOKES, "SOMEDAY I WILL VISIT THE STATE DEPARTMENT."

64. SOME OF HIS LOYALISTS MAINTAIN THAT THE EXISTING

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

PATTERN IS ABERATIONAL BECAUSE OF THE PREOCCUPYING DEMANDS OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS; OTHERS CONTEND THE PATTERN IS IMMUTABLE KISSINGER STYLE. THEY WORRY THAT KISSINGER HAS ENTRAPPED HIMSELF IN ENDLESS, OVER-PERSO 65. KISSINGER, BY CONTRAST, CLAIMS FRUSTRATION WITH THE UNCLASSIFIED

"MEDIOCRITY" AND LACK OF CREATIVITY HE FOUND AT STATE.

66. ONE MIDDLE-LEVEL STATE OFFICIAL PROTESTS:

"THE SECRETARY KEEPS COMPLAINING ABOUT THE LACK OF CREATIVITY . . . YOU CAN DO ALL THE SHAKING UP IN THE WORLD, BUT UNLESS THE MAN TELLS YOU WHAT THE ARCHITECTURE IS, NOBODY CAN SEE THE PLANS. YOU CAN TELL IT'S A CATHRAL AND NOT A BEACH HOUSE, BUT YOU HAVE TO KNOW HOW IT TRANSLATES INTO FLYING BUTTRESSES AND CRYPTS. YOU CAN'T BE OF USE TO HIM UNLESS HE TELLS YOU WHAT THE SITUATION

IS."

67. KISSINGER, WRITING IN 1968 ABOUT THE 19TH CENTRY GERMAN CHANCELLOR, BISMARCK, SAID, "THE IMPACT OF GENIUS ON INSTITUTIONS IS BOUND TO BE UNSETTLING, OF COURSE. THE BUREAUCRAT WILL CONSIDER ORIGINALITY AS UNSAFE, AND GENIUS WILL RESENT THE CONSTRICTIONS." HOWEVER, KISSINGER ADDED, "STATESMEN WHO BUILD LASTINGLY TRANSFORMED THE PERSONAL ACT OF CREATION INTO INSTITUTIONS THAT CAN BE MAINTAINED BY AN AVERAGE STANDARD OF PERFORMANCE. THIS, BISMARCK PROVED INCAPABLE OF DOING."

68. KISSINGER IS NOT THE UNQUESTIONING IDOLATOR OF BISMARCK OR METTERNICH OR CASTLEREAGH MANY WHO HAVE SKIMMED THROUGH THE KISSINGER WRITINGS TEND TO ASSUME. HE WAS INTRIGUED BY THEIR DIPLOMATIC PROWESS, BUT ALSO BY THEIR FAULTS AND MISCALCUATIONS. HIS OWN TOTAL IMMODESTY TEMPTS HIM TO TRY TO SURPASS THIER ACCOMPLISHMENTS. BUT IN HIS PERCEPTION, THE DAMNABLE THREAT OF IMPEACHMENT CAN CONFOUND HIS LOFTIEST ASPIRATIONS.

69. WASHINGTON POST STAFF WRITERS MARILYN BERGER AND DAN MORGAN BOTH CONTRIBUTED TO THE ASSESSMENT OF KISSINGER'S FIRST SIX MONTHS IN OFFICE. RUSH

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 APR 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE070280
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PA/HO;CSAMPSON
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D740079-0161
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740483/abbrzcrc.tel
Line Count: 534
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 10
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: smithrj
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 MAY 2002 by bryansd0>; APPROVED <17 DEC 2002 by smithrj>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MURREY MARDER, ARTICLE IN WASHINGTON POST, SUNDAY APRIL 7.
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: ACAPULCO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005